

60

The deluge of Perth,

*Union, not a Separation. Sword and fire haue
affailed, but neuer preuailed, and shall that
God distitute
ry? Besides,
ready (as see
Nobles, as a
the Trumpe
fall downe be*

C-PV
61557-67

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of his Subiectes,
numbers of his
n: his Leuits, as
it whose soun-
I fall downe be*

Iofua.1

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Ethnick:

Scaliger.

* Imper

So in Rome

Roman

An

Scotia limes:

us origo ruina.

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Christ Church
Harvey
A
SERMON

PREACHED

at

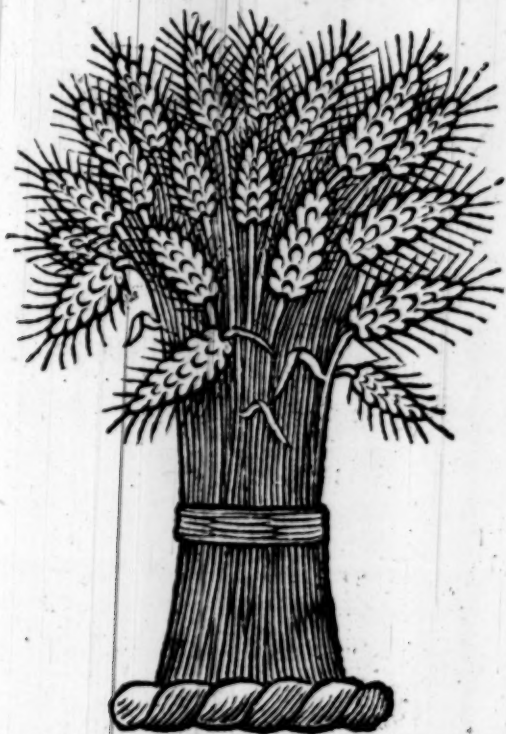
North-Hampton the 21. of

*June last past, before the Lord Lieutenant of the
County, and the rest of the Commissioners
there assembled vpon occasion of the late*

*Rebellion and Riots in those
parts committed.*

Prou. 22. 2

*The rich and the poore meete together, the Lord
is the maker of them all.*



Printed at London for Iohn FLASKET.

1607.

SERMON

PREACHED

At the request of the

Church of the

County of

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To the Right Honorable

*Thomas Earle of Exeter, Lord Baron of
Burleigh, Knight of the most Noble Order
of the Garter, one of his Maiesties most Ho-
nourable Priuy Councill, and Lord
Licutenant for the Countie
of North-hampton.*



*Right Honorable: It is
not long since I came
forth in a Marchants
Shippe, and nowe it is
Gods prouidence, and
your good pleasure, that
I shall publish my selfe
in a Storme: In the appeasing whereof,
since it hath pleased your Honour to vse
my seruice as the word ioyned with the
Sword, or rather as the Sword of the
Spirit with the Sword of Iustice, I haue
discharged my selfe as indifferently as I
could to the cutting downe of offence in all:
It is true that we are fallen into tempe-
stuous and troublesome times, wherein*

The Epistle

*the excessive couetousnesse of some hath
caused extreame want to other, and that
want not well digested hath rioted to
the hazard of all; yea and by these stormes
we are cast among the rocks, euen two the
most dangerous rocks of estate, Oppression
of the mighty, and Rebellion of the manie,
by mischiefe wherof many flourishing king-
domes and countries haue miscarried, and
so had we in this vndoubtedly, had not
God by your good indeauors preuented it;
& therefore between these two rocks I saile,
admonishing in the passage the one sort,
that is, the Mighty, that man liueth by
bread, but the other sort, that is, the Many
that mā liueth not by bread only, to the
intent that they which know the ordinary
course of God in preserving nature might
make a conscience of impairing the means
of mans preservation, and they likewise
which knowe that God hath wayes to pre-
serue beyond the meanes of nature, might
learne with christian wisdom & patience
to temper theselues in want: And because
Right Honorable wee haue obtained great
quietnesse through you, & your worthy A-
gents, and that great things are done vnto
our countrie through your providence, God
forbid, but that as Tertullus did to Foelix
so*

Dedicatory.

So we much more to you should acknowledge
it wholly, & in all places, & with all thanks:
yet in this we are bold to intreat you, that
as you haue bin meanes for the due execu-
tion of iustice vpon the rebellious, so like-
wise (as opportunity shall serue) to promote
the cause & cōplaints of the expelled, halfe
pined, and distressed poore, that they rebell
no more. It is the end of al mens exaltation
according to the proportiō of their state &
powre to do workes of mercy & iustice, for
he that sat vpon a throne did confesse, that
the thrones were set vp for iudgement
Psal. 122. Now iudgement looketh both
wayes: and therefore as it chastiseth the of-
fendor, so it represseth him likewise, by
whose conetousnes & cruelty the offence cō-
meth: especially it will be looked for at your
hands (Right honorable) strongly to main-
taine the cause of corne & of bread, God
hauing giuen you a sheafe supported with
Lyons, as the highest top, & chiefeſt emi-
nence of your Honor. Neither is there any
greater promise of establiſhment made to
the families & persons of mē, thē by a reli-
gious respect of the poore, which who so fol-
loweth, his righteousnes remaineth for
euer, & his horne ſhal be exalted with
honor. Psa. 112. God continue & increase
in you an affection of the one, that you
may

The Epistle &c.

*may bee made partaker of the other. And
thus in my deepest deuotion commen-
ding to God your selfe, your state, and
honorable family, I humbly
take my leaue.*

**Your Honors late Chaplaine,
and still deuoted in all
Christian duty.**

ROB: WILKINSON.



A
SERMON PREA-
ched at North-Hampton

*upon occasion of the late Rebellion
the 21. of Iune. 1607.*

Math. 4. 4.

*But hee answering sayde: It is written,
Man shall not liue by bread onely, but by
euery word that proceedeth out off the
mouth of GOD.*



HE that said the whole
life of man was no-
thing else but a time
of temptation, hee
sayd very fearefullie,
and yet very truelie;
for we are tempted
in old age, and in our cradles wee are
not free; If any euil stand before vs, we
are prouoked to do it, and when at any
time we haue done well, we are euen
tempted in it; if wee abound as *Adam*

B

did

A Sermon vpon occasion

did in Paradise, there be intilmentes in that, or if we want as Christ did in the wildernes, there may be death in that; so expert is the enemy whom God hath sent to exercise vs, that according to time and place, & to each mans state & nature, he hath wherein to allure vs, and serueth himself of al occasions. And because we are fallen into a time, wherein pouerty without patience hath much disordred vs, I haue therfore chosen to speake of the hungry temptation, & yet not of the temptation neither, each mā being apt enough to tempt himselfe, but rather of the answer to it; for the diuel finding Christ of late, first fasting, & then hungry in a desolate & barren wilderness where nothing was to be had, aduiseeth him not to looke vp to heauē, (frō whence in extreme want all help is to be waited for) but rather to take the way that was next at hand, & by a new kind of Alchimy, of stones to make himselfe bread, & vnto this Christ answereth him with the text I haue read, *man liueth not by bread onely, &c.* and there is nothing in this whole story so futable, or so aptly speaking to the occasion & season of the time as this; for it is said
before

of the late Rebellion.

before, that *Christ fasted*, meaning a religious fast, as few do now; and it is saide likewise, that *he was hungry*, and no maruell, for he was in a place, where was neither bred nor corn, as may be now; & it is said likewise, that *thē the tempter came*, that is, the Diuell came, as all the world seeth he is vp and abroad now; & some he tempteth to turne bread into stones, that is, to decay the plenty of the earth, as many rich & greedy minded mē do now; & some he tempteth to turne stones into bread, that is, to vse vnlawful means for their own releife, as the mad & rebellious multitude doth now; but in this verse Christ sheweth a better way for mens reliefe, that is, by resting the-
selues in the pleasure & prouidence of God, which is for all men an apt & godly answer, to such a diuillish & vngodlie temptation. In which answer 3. things may bee considered; first, that Christ would answer the Diuill, next the manner of his answer, which is by *scriptū est*, & then lastly the substāce of his answer, which is, that *man liueth not by bread onely, but by euery word which commeth out of the mouth of God*. For the first, a question may be mooued, why Christ would vouchsafe to giue the diuill any answer

A Sermon upon occasion

at all; why did hee not rather answer him with silence, as sometimes he answered *Caiphas* and *Pilate*? to which I answer, that as hee was therefore lead into the wilderness, that he might bee tempted, so was he therefore tempted that he might giue answer, and that partly to auouch his owne wisdom by his answer, and also to instruct vs, that we in the like case must bee able likewise to make answer; *Respondit tentatori docens te respondere tentatori*, saith *Saint Austin*; Christ did answer the tempter to teach thee, that thou must answer the tempter also; that as *Gedeon* sayd to his souldiers, *What yee see mee doe, do yee also. Iudg. 7. 17.* So wee because wee see our Captaine to answer, might also learne not *Implicitam fidem*, a faith folded vp in the faith of our fathers, or to beleuee as the Church beleueeth, but be armed with reason to answer also: In the field it is lamentable when the defenders of a iust and lawfull cause are foyled & put to flight; O Lord, what shall I say (sayth *Ioshua*) when *Israel* turne their backs vpon their enemies? *Ioshu. 7.* In the Church it is shamefull when men shall maintaine

Of the late Rebellion.

raine a good cause as *Iob* did, and yet being opposed cannot find an answer: and God forbid we should auouch any things in points of faith, for which being opposed we cannot answer. But in the breast of man it is most fearefull, when Satan shall come to tempt or terrifie, and we like *Cain* or *Iudas* are overcome and cannot answer: for if we be bound to answer euery man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in vs. *1. Pet. 3.* How much more to answer this tempting and destroying Serpent, from whose temptatiō no man can promise himselfe freedom or imunity. But say, Christ would answer the Diuell, yet why after so milde and gentle a fashion; why rather did hee not bid him be packing, as he did somtime to *Peter*? *Get thee behind me Sathan, thou art an offence vnto me. Mat. 16.* Yea why did he not torment him for his pride & presumption in tempting him? why did he not throw him into the deepe for laying vnholly hands, & for breathing those impure blasts vpon him? & thus we imagin God like our selues; for *Michael* the Archangell though hee stroue against the Diuell, yet would

A Sermon vpon occasion

not reuile him. *Iud. 9.* nor would Christ call for fire from heauen to consume the *Samaritans*, albeit they shut their doores vpon him. *Luc. 9.* for he came not now to iudge, but to saue; he came not (as one day he shall) with fire before him, but he came like a Lambe, lowly to his inferiors, gentle to his enemies, and affable to all; which first addeth strength to the faith of man, in the act of Inuocatio, for if the enemy receiued a gentle answer, euen when he came to destroy, much more shall they that deuoutly seeke vnto him; beside, it giueth to great personages, Iudges and Magistrates in their places, an honorable patterne of piety, cheerfully to accept, & gently to answer, the cries, petitions & iust complaints of the poore, which stand in need of them, as they stand in need of God, & come kneeling to them as they kneele to God; & when at any time they grow weary of this, they may doubt they haue forgotten him who exalted the for this, & feare least they be forgottē whē they faile in this. Now for the maner of Christs answer to the diuill; ye see, he doth not teach vs to repell or chase him away (as they do at *Rome*, with Tapers, & holy water,
or

Of the late Rebellion.

or with hanging out a crucifix, but by *scriptum est*, the written word of God; for what cares the diuill for a candle, or for holy water, or what cares he for a Crucifix, which is but an image of Christ, who according to some of their own doctors did not feare to lay foule hands vpon the sacred body of Christ: but as when *Ioshua* fained to run away from the men of *Ai*, hee did by that meanes disfranke them, & bring a greater slaughter on them. *John 8.* so when the diuill faineth to be afraide of such things, it is but a flie deuise, to wrappe men more deeply in the snares of superstition. Neither yet doth Christ answer the Diuill by *Factum est*, by doing the thing required, that is, turning stones into bread, but hee answereth him by *scriptum est*, by shewing him what is written; no doubt Christ could haue turned the stones, and the stones being commanded must haue obeied him, for when the Prophet cryed out against *Ieroboams* altar, *the ashes fell out, and the Altar rent in sunder. 1. King. 13.* but behold a greater then the Prophet was here, who when himselfe cryed out his last crye vpon the Crosse, the vale of the Temple rent, the earth did
quake,

Hugo Cardin.
sup. Math 4.
Assumpsit
eum brachijs
suis.

A Sermon vpon occasion

Royard.
Dominica.
I. Quadra-
gesimæ.

quake, & the stones did cleaue in funder
Math. 27. yea surely hee that of water
made wine, could also (if it had so plea-
sed him) of stones haue made bread;
yea he could of stones haue made men,
euen of stones to raise vp children vn-
to *Abraham*, *Math. 3.* but why then did
he not? surely the Friers tell vs a prety
reason; That Christ would not turne
stones into bread at the diuels request,
but rather stay a yeare longer to turne
water into wine, at his Mothers re-
quest, that so to her, to the Virgin
Mary, and not to the Diuill, might be
dedicated the first frutes of his mira-
cles, as if Christ had dedicated mira-
cles to his Mother, or had in the mira-
cle of water turned to wine, intended
the magnifying of his Mother, who
when shee mooued vnto him the
want of wine, receaued an answer
some-thing regardlesse of her; *Wo-*
man what haue I to doe with thee? Ioh. 2. 4.
but a better reason of that miracle is
gathered out of the eleuenth verse,
where it is sayde, the miracle being
done, that *his Disciples beleued on him;*
but how? *Nunquid crediturus erat dia-*
bolus? saith Saint *Austin*, would the
Deuill

of the late Rebellion.

Diuill haue beleueed if Christ had turned stones into bread? surely no; and therefore as he would shew no miracle to *Herod*, because he asked it idly and curiously, *Luc. 23.* so neither is any miracle to bee shewed to the Diuill, nor any Pearle to be cast before such Swine, as there is no hope to conuert or edifie; or say there were hope, yet *Scriptum est*, the Law and the Prophets are more effectua'll (saith *Abraham*) then if one should rise from the dead; yea if they will not heare *Moses* and the Prophets, neither will they bee perswaded, though one rise from the dead. *Luc. 16.* and generally by example of Christ, it is so much better to contend with authority of scriptures, then with powre of miracles, by how much Christ preferred *Scriptum est*, before turning stones into bread. Neither yet doth Christ answer the Diuill by vnwritten verities, as they do who thrust vpon the faith of men, dreames, and fables, and meere traditions, which is (saith *Theodoret*) like the sinne of *Araons* sonnes, to bring strange fire vpon the Altar. *Leuit. 10.* but he answereth him by *Scriptum est*, It is written; & if it be not written, it is sure no matter of faith, but men may choose whether they wil beleue it or no: but if it be written, men must beleue it, and build their faith, their soules,

Theodoret.
quest. 9. in
Leuit.

C

and

A Sermon vpon occasion

Hilar: ad
Constant:

Chrisost.
homil. su-
per Math.
& 46.

Aug. contra
Maximin.
lib. 3. ca. 14.

and saluation vpon it; for therefore yee erre
(saith Christ) *because yee know not the scrip-
tures. Mat. 22.* but he that knoweth them,
knoweth also all needful wisdom in them;
for speake we of matters of faith; *Fidem
Imperator queris*; saith Hilary to Constance
the Emperour, *Seeke yee to know the faith*;
then must ye vnderstand it, not by any new
or late writings, but by the bookes of God.
Or seeke yee to know which is the true &
catholique church? *Nulla modo cognoscitur,
nisi tantummodo per scripturas*, there is no
way to know it saith S. Chrysost. but only by
the scriptures: or groweth ther any doubt
or controuersie of opinion in the church?
we may say to one another, as S. Austin to
Maximinus the Arrian, *Nec ego Nicenū tibi,
nec tu mihi Ariminense debes proferre concil-
liū, &c.* neither wil I obiect to you the coun-
cell of Nice, nor shall you to me the coun-
cell of Ariminū, but let the Scriptures end
it; for (euē our enemies being iudges) whē
it is in question whether such a thing bee
lawfull or no, *Ad sacram paginā recurrendū
est*, we must haue recourse to th holy scrip-
tures, saith Stella sup: *Luc. 6. 3.* because in
them we may find, *Sufficienter et veraciter*,
both sufficiently & truly, *Omnia que ad sa-
lutem sunt necessaria*, euen al things whatfo-
euer are needfull to saluation, saith Bona-
uentura

of the late Rebellion.

uentura de profectu religioſor. lib. 1. cap. 6. both theſe men being Friers and fautors of the church of *Rome*, and yet againſt the church of *Rome*, maintaining ſincerely the ſufficiencie of the ſcriptures; Therefore theſe are the weapons of our warfare; *ſcriptum eſt*: the word of God (ſaith *S. Paul*) is the ſword of the ſpirit. *Ephes. 6.* yea this is the ſword of the Lord and of *Gedeon*.

The ſubſtance of this answer is, that *Man liueth not by bread only, but by euery word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.* The place is found. *Deut. 8. 3.* where *Moses* exhorting the *Iſraelits* in al their wants to depend vpon the prouidence of God, putteth them in mind, how that being in the wildernes, where was neither bread nor water, yet were they neither famiſht with want, nor yet compelled to vſe vnlawfull means for their reliefe, but they had a bread which they knew not, euen *Manna* ſent from heauen, as in a tipe to ſhew, that mans life is maintained not by the means of bread, nor by the fruitfulneſſe of the earth, but from the houſe of Prouidence, that is, from heauen: and this doth *Chriſt* oppoſe as an answer to the Diuil, wherein 2. things may be diſtinctly conſidered, Firſt that man liueth by bread, and then ſecondly that he liueth not by bread onely, that is, that God hath appointed man to liue by means, & yet he

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hath not tied his life vnto the meanes. That *man liueth by bread*, is inferred out of the very text; for euen where he saith, *Not by bread onely*, it followeth of necessitie, that among other meanes, yet by bread for once & there be in these words three things likewise to be considered; First the subiect of Gods prouidence, which is *Man* secondly the end of Gods prouidence, that *man must liue*: and thirdly the meanes of his prouidence, that he must liue *by bread*.

For the first, the diuill indeed propounded very cunningly a question concerning the sonne of God; *If thou bee the sonne of God, command, &c.* which yet Christ neither denieth, nor affirmeth himselfe to bee, but cleane beside the matter, answereth of man; *mā liueth not*; & sure Christ was not bound to giue direct answer to such an aduersary, who came not to bee satisfied, but to deceiue, and therefore to dazell and amaze him the more, he answereth him at randome, & where he asked him of the sonne of God, he answereth him of man, and to let him see withal, what account God did make of mā, whom he in tempting the sonne of God, fought fundamentally to ouerthrow. And surely man is a great marke in Gods eie, for God made man, & printed his owne image in mā, & made the world for man, & ordai-
ned

Of the late Rebellion.

ned the Angels to gard man, was borne for man, and in the end dyed for man, that *Dauid* breakes out in o admiration, *VVhat is man, that thou art so mindfull of him, or the Sonne of man that thou regardest him. Psal. 8.* Onely man to man is vile and of no account, & man is *Anthropomastix*, one man the greatest scourge & plague of another. *Man liueth*, sayth *Christ*; therefore prouision is here made for man, which may sustaine in this place a two-fold opposition, first with the beasts and brute creatures, before which in Gods prouidence Man is euer preferred, & then secondly with particular men, for *Man* is not here taken for this or that man, but for *Humanum genus*, Man for all mankind, & so it standeth with reason that the whole kinde be evermore preferred before any one or a few cormorants in their kinde.

If yee speak of the beasts; surely to that question of *S. Paul*, *Doth God take care for Oxen. 1. Cor. 9.* We may answer affirmatiuely, yes sure euen for Oxen, and for sheep, for so saith *Dauid. Psal. 36.* *Thou Lord dost saue Man and Beast;* yea and for little birds too, whereof two are sold for a farthing, *Deut. 22. 6* euen the great God hath made protectiue lawes, that man should not deale vnmercifully with them: yet we must take this

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withall, that whatsoeuer God hath done for the beasts, yet is it not for their owne sakes principally, but for mans, for whose vse and seruice they were created, & not for themselues; and is it not then vnnaturall (thinke ye) to see a man put out, to put in a beast, and men turned out to bring in sheepe, whereas God created the earth for men, and not for sheepe; therefore if ye will maintaine large pastures and stock them with sheepe, then remember what God saith by the mouth of *Ezechiel*, *The sheepe of my pasture are men. Eze. 34. 31. yea and we are his people and the sheepe of his pasture. Psal. 100.* and the image of God in one man is more worth then all the sheep in the world: and it is time, yea high time to speake of this, the text of it already being written in bloud; and no maruell if they which feele it, runne madde and wild vpon it, since wee which but see it are so much amazed at it; for a stranger which coasteth these countries, and findeth heere and there so many thousands and thousands of sheepe, & *nihil humani generis*, in so many miles not a thing like a Man, might take vp a wonder, & say with himselfe; what? hath there bin some Sorceresse, or some *Circe* heere that hath transformed men into beasts? or is it so, that

Of the late Rebellion.

that men and beasts haue waged warre together! but how was this battell fought, that sheepe got the field? or what men were these that ranne away from sheepe? yea rather what sheepe were these that throw down houses, townes, & churches? oh no: these were no sheepe, they were hogges by their rooting, ye forget him that made the world for man.

Or be it that in this depopulation the beasts did not ouergo man, yet whatsoeuer is done to the wasting of mankind for the benefit of a few in the kind, is against the prouidence of God too: for God said not to *Adam* and to *Eue* at the first, *Increase*, but *Increase and multiply, yea & fill the earth.* *Gen. 1. 28.* Fill it: how? not with clamors and with cries, with teares and with bloud, with mutinies and implacable rebellion as these men doe; but fill it with men, with the image of God, with the precious seede of the diuine generation: and seeke not (as the Prophet sayth) by ioyning house to house, and land to land to bee alone vpon the earth. *Esay. 5.* Nor let your shepherdes say to you as *Diogenes* sometime said to *Timon*, O that there were none but thou & I in the land; for in the end *Timon* will say to *Diogenes* againe, I like the wish well, so as when
Diogenes

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Diogines and I were left alone, *Diogines* were straightway hanged; and what will be the ende of this wait, but that he who hath brought a whole towne to two houses, that is, to a sheapheard & himselfe, will in the end with the shepheard hangd, and keepe sheep himselfe. I know ye thinke it horrible, that (as in this late Rebellion) Mechanicall men are come to beard Magistrates; and it is horrible indeede, *Euen the vile* (as *Esay* saith) *to presume against the honorable. Esa. 3. 5.* But as it is an ill foote that kicketh at the head, and an ill hand that beateth it, so is it an ill head that wisheth the hand cut off, or deuiseeth a way how to haue fewer fingers on the hand: for be there too few, then it is a weak, and a lame hand, like *Ehuds* right hand, & must haue the left hand come in to helpe it. *Judz. 3.* But be there too many: then it is like the hand of *Golias*; fixe fingers on a hand; which is not onely monstrous, but also cumbersome; for where men are thrust vp in heapes, & crowded into corners, they are ready to smother one another, as the two Harlots & their children by dwelling in one house ouer-lay one another; *1. Kin. 3. 17.* But to haue all parts peopled in due proportiō is the glory, beauty & strength of the land, and hee that crosseth this, though

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though he rise not in Rebellion to open disturbance, yet he is worse then a forraine inuador, and professed enemy of the land, for such a one, though hee come to kill vp the people, yet he doth it by open hostility, & of such there be wayes to beware: But these *Anthropophagi*, these deuourers of men vnder a name of right and property, doe the verye same thing, & therefore the more dangerous enemies, therfore as euery man prayeth, not for himselfe, but *Pater noster*, euery man saith *Our Father*, & one prayes still for all; and as euery man professeth to belecue, not a proprietic of grace, but a *Communion of Saints*, & communion is participation of all, so let euery man indeauor, not that himselfe may liue alone, but that mankinde may liue, & do that good which shall be good to all.

Againe, Christ telleth vs heere that Man *liueth*; which life of Man is the end of Gods prouidence: now liuing is opposed sometime to dying; as 2. *King. 18. Harken not to Hezekiah, but come forth to me (saith Rabsache) that ye may liue and not die.* Sometime againe it is opposed to liuing miserablie, and importeth as much as to liue well and competently, as *Deut. 5. Walke in the wayes of the Lord, that yee may liue, and that it may go well with you. Liue and go well.* And to this sence it is spoken, *Leu. 25. 36. Thou shalt take no vsury, nor vantage of thy*

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thy brother, that thy brother may liue with thee.
Not meaning that vsury did kill men, but that it doth vndoe men, and vndoing is a wofull kinde of dying; for when a man dies, he is buryed, and when he is buryed perhaps he is lamented, yet they that lamented him suruiue still, but when a man is vndon, hee dies in his estate, he dies in his reputation, he dies in his wife and children, & his whole house is like hell, euen a heape of misery, his cattell looke poorely like *Pharaos* leane Kine; his Cartes driue heauilie like *Pharaohs* Chariots without wheeles; and his creditors follow him, as *Pharao* followed the *Isralites* at their backs; so as such a mā may seeme to liue in *Egipt*; nay it were better by farre, to sit downe & make bricks in *Egipt*; for this is not liuing, but lingring death, & many to auoid this, choose rather to die. Therefore marke I beseech you; yee, to whom God hath giuen the Earth in possessiō, & *learne to be mercifull as your heauē-*
lie Father is mercifull. For when God at the beginning made man, first *he breathed in his face the breath of life*, and then immediatlie *he put him into the Garden which he had made* *Genes. 2. 7. 8.* as much as to say, that first God gaue man life, and then presently gaue him liuing; yea *Paradise* was planted first, and *Man* created after; so carefull was God, not onely of *Mans* life, but also of his liuing,
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that the thing which maintained him was made before him, for if hee had giuen him life before liuing, the Father of prouidence should haue seemed to deale vnprouidently, but if he had giuen him life without liuing, the father of mercy should haue created his children vnto misery. And if ye thinke it no sin to take away the liuing where God hath giuen life, ye may think it a lesse sin to take away life, when ye haue taken away the liuing. And let it be a lesson for all states generally, not to *grind the faces of the poore*: but the ma- ^{Esa. 3.}ster so to wage his seruant that he may liue; & the work-master so to wage the laborer, that he may liue, & the land-lord not to rack, but so to rate his tenant that he may liue, not miserably, for so it were better to die, but as theselues liue plentifully vnder God, so they sufficiently & contentedly vnder them; For let men be so oppressed, that they cānot liue, & then they come to the cry of the Steward, when hee was put out off his Steward-ship; *What shall I do!* Luk. 16. and it is fearefull to thinke, what men will doe in the end. *His Maister puttes him out off the Steward-shippe,* and how then? *I cannot digge* (saith hee) and yet now yee see men can digge when they bee put out: and *to begge I am ashamed*; yet Men are now ashamed of nothing yea affrayd of nothing, but desperate estates

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breede desperate mindes like the children of *Dan*, when they were without dwelling, they ranne into mens houses, and fetcht out their priests, and their siluer gods, and bad the owners come fetch them if they durst. *Judg. 18.*

Gen. 3.

The ordinary meanes of Gods prouidence is, that man must liue by bread; a corporall substance to be maintained by corporal sustenance; for as man had his beginning out off the earth, and was threatned in his end to resolue into earth againe, so was it meete, that by earth likewise, hee should make his passage and proceeding, that so to the Trinity of Holies in heauen we might hūble our selues by opposing a Triplicite of earth, and salute our owne nature with the words of the Prophet, *O Earth, Earth, Earth, heare the word of the Lord. Ierem. 22. 29.* That by bread of the earth our bodies of earth must bee maintayned, it hath a foundation euen in the curse of *Adam*, *In the sweat of thy browes thou shalt eat thy bread:* God ordaining at the first, that man should labour for his liuing, & liue by bread; to which purpose also, as *Abel* was ordayned a shepheard to cloth with wooll, so was *Cain* a husbandman to till the land for bread, *Gen. 4.* And dayly we pray to God to giue vs bread, yea to giue vs *Panem quotidianum*, euen dayly bread, which if we haue it not dayly, we haue a dayly sicknes and quotidian by it; for God threatneth

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threatneth it for a plague, that he will take away the staffe of bread, *Leu. 26.* And where bread wanteth, men will gage their houses, and their Vineyards, & their land for bread. *Nehem. 5.* And *Elias* sonnes will bow for a morsell of bread *1. Sam. 2.* And the *Ægyptians* in the famine sold themselues for bread, *Gen. 47.* For which cause *Ezechiel* calleth them the euill arrowes of famine. *Ezec. 5.* And they are euill indeed, whether we respect the procuring causes, or whether else the euil effects and consequents of them: for the belly sayth that bread must be had, and the foule subscribeth, that bread must be had too; and though reason may perswade and authoritie command, and Preachers may exhort with obedience and patience to sustaine the want of bread, yet for all that, *Venter non habet aures*, in case of extreame hunger men will not be perswaded, but they will haue bread. Therefore Right Honorable, Right Worshipfull, and whomsoever God hath armed with authority, this cause crieth now to you; yea as to God they pray, *Da nobis panem*, so to you come the cries and complaints of the poore, most humbly beseeching you to bee a meanes that they may haue bread; for at the beginning indeede *Cain* killed *Abel*, the husbandman killed the shepheard, but *Abel* since hath cryed quittance with *Cain*, the shepheards haue put downe husbandry, for

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they haue turned not stones into bread, but corne into grasse, and done for a practise that which God threatned for a plague, To take away the staffe of bread; yea they haue turned as *Achab* did with *Micaiah*, the bread of food, into the *bread of affliction*. *1. King. 22.* and worse then so, they haue turned men into beasts, and made them wilde and rebellious, which before were tame and obedient; yea & worse then so, they haue turned liuing bodies into dead carkases, which though they haue iustly perisht in their rebellion; yet as Christ saith, *Luc. 17. Woe be to them by whom the offence commeth.*

Gen. 32.

The next point of the answer is, that though God haue appointed man to liue by bread, yet not by bread onely. Commonly wee are thus affected to the outward meanes, that if at any time they faile vs, we are ready to curse, and finally to renounce them, as the *Israelites* for the sinew that shranke in *Jacobs* thigh, vowed neuer to eate of the sinew any more: but when they stand vs in steed, and doe their feuerall offices to vs, we are ready, as the *Egiptians* did with their Sheepe and Oxen, to deifie and make gods of them, & euen to say, as *Exod. 32. These are thy Gods which brought thee, &c.* Therefore to draw men from immoderate admiration of these inferior meanes, Christ telleth vs, that though *by bread*, yet
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not by bread onely; for to effect things alone is proper to GOD onely, who onely can say, as Esa. 63. I haue troden the wine-presse alone, and of all the people there was none with me: and if man should liue by bread onely, then were bread his God; and therefore euen the same mouth which commendeth to vs the labours of our hands, condemneth likewise all confidence in our owne endeouours; for euen in the Church where Gods owne worke is done, yet planting of it selfe, and watering of it selfe is nothing; In policies, and in the common-wealth, Except the Lord keepe the Citty, the watch-man watcheth but in vaine: and they which asked a King to gouerne them, yet were no whit better, but rather in worse case when they had him; Likewise in the field, A Horse is a vaine thing to saue a man; and though a Bowe and a Sworde bee mighty weapons in the hands of the mightie, yet I will not trust in my ^{Psal. 41.} Bowe, nor shall my Sworde saue mee, saith the Psalmist.

Againe, in priuate Families, and in domesticall affaires, *It is in vaine for men to rise earlie, and goe to bedde late: yea and in the very body of man, The Israelites which so lusted for meate, yet when they had meate, dyed with meate in their mouthes. Number. 11.* yea and many, the more they haue, the worse

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worse they thriue, like *Pharaohs* leane Kine which did eate vp the fatte, and yet were neuer the fatter when they had done; and therefore though much may be done by bread, yet nothing by bread onely.

Well then; If not by bread onely, by what then? *By euery word that proceedeth out off the mouth of God*; where because mention is made of *euery word*, wee are to consider, that the word of God is manifold whereby wee liue, for first there is *Verbum scriptum*: the written word of God, which feedes vs with wisdom, secondly there is the word of his blessing, which strengthneth with goodnesse; thirdly the word of especiall power which mayntaineth by miracle; fourthly the word of promise which supporteth by faith; & lastly euen the word of deniall which vpholdeth vs in patience.

1. If we speake of the written word or of the Scripture, it is true that man liueth not by bread onely, but by that too; for *Search the scriptures* (saith Christ) *for they are they which testifie of me, and in them yee shall haue life everlasting. Iohn. 5.* And it is a good barre against the Diuells temptation, when hee telleth vs of bread, and turning stones into bread, and all for bread, to tell him againe, that there is somewhat else to be cared for beside bread, that because God hath giuen vs a soule to saue,

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saue, as well as a body to feed, and a belly to fill, that wee therefore should rather care to feed and instruct the soule, then to pamper the body; especially to instruct the soule thus farre against the body, that we may learne to do no vnlawfull thing for natures necessity, nor to hazard an immortall soule, for a mortall and dying body; And had many of vs beene as well instructed in the word of God, and in their duty to God, the King & Country, as they haue beene in the word of the diuill, and in vnlawfull meanes of recouering bread; I thinke want of bread could neuer haue raised such wicked tumults as it hath; but a man may truly say to the most hungry soule of this tumultuous company, that whē he was most oppressed, and most hungry, yet euen then he was better fed then taught.

Secondly if ye speake of, *Verbum benedictionis*, the word of his blessing; it is true, that man liueth not by bread onely, but chiefelie by the blessing of God, *for euery creature* (saith *S. Paul*) *is sanctified by the word of God. 1. Tim. 4.* that is by the blessing of God, as *Ambrose* and *Theodoret* expound it. And this appeareth to vs three wayes, First because the very same thing blessed and not blessed, doth shew forth powre accordingly, as *Exod. 16.* when against the commandement of God they reserued of the *Mannah* till the morning, it putrified and

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stanke, yet the very same *Mannah* being kept by the commandment of God, was sweet & good many yeares in the Arke; the reason of which difference was because God did giue his blessing to the one, and denied it to the other; Secondly, whereas we by proportion feed our families, as *David* when he feasted the people, gaue to euery one a peece of flesh, & a Cake of bread; 2. *Sam.* 6. that is, so many Cakes of bread to so many people, yet God when hee pleaseth, without all proportion feedeth man; for *Math.* 15. with seauen loues he fed 4000. which was much, but *Math.* 14. with 5. loaves he fed 5000. which was much more; the miracle was great when it was at the least, but with the lesse prouision to feede the greater number maketh it much greater; but the strangest miracle is in the fragments, yea in the fragments three great miracles appeared; first that out of so small a portion feeding so many, there should come any fragments at al, next that out of the fewer loaves and the greater number to be fed, there did arise the more fragments; & lastly that the redundancy of the fragments was more then the first stock or principall store of bread; & what is all this, but the blessing of God? Thirdly, (which the diuill here acknowledgeth) God cā when it pleaseth him, put the very strength of bread into a stone, yea he that cā make a mā of

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of a stone, can feed him with a stone, & nourish him more with meate of lesse nourishment, then with the more, as *Daniel* & the rest, which liued with water & pulse, *had their faces not so faire, but fairer then they which liued of the Kings owne table. Dan. 1.* and what is this likewise but the blessing of God: And had we not tied our life to bread, and thought God could not haue blessed vs, but by filling our bellyes, wee should neuer haue forsaken the blessing of God, to haue falne into the curse of those conspiring brethren, *Cursed be their wrath, for it was fierce, &c. Ge. 49.* but it seemeth that these mē when they had bread, they had it without the blessing of God, & wanted grace to vse it, and therefore now hauing no bread, they want another blessing, & know not how to want it.

Thirdly, if yee speake of *verbum potentie*, the 3.^d word of his powre; that word whereof it is said, *he spake the word, and it was done*, it is true likewise that man liueth not by bread onely but many times by the special powre of God; which appeareth also three waies; first by raising vp of extraordinary meanes, as when the Israelites were in the wilderness where the earth did yeeld no bread, the Lord did cause euen the heauen to do the office of the earth, & to raine downe bread. Secondly, as he doth strangely prouide bread, so when it pleaseth him hee can preserue life without bread, for

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Moses liued 40. daies without any bread at all; and then lastly hee can preferue life, as without bread, so when it pleaseth him, euen by the contrary means to bread, in which nature the faithful haue a promise, that if they *drinke any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them. Mar. 16. 18.* yea & sometimes God vseth that to help, which of it selfe, & in his owne nature would hurt, as *Iohn. 9.* Christ opened the eyes of the blind by putting dust into them; surely since the world began, was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of him who was borne blind; but to doe it by dust; by dust which should rather put out the eyes of the seeing, then giue sight to the blinde, it sheweth what men may build vpon the powre of GOD: But now the Lords hand is shortned, that it cannot helpe, and his powre impaired, that he cannot saue, so as now vnlesse men may be their owne caruers, and women and boyes reforme abuses, it cannot bee but the poore must be pined, and the land vnpeopled; *sed quis tu qui ligas omnipotentem?* What cannot God do? or who art thou that tyeest the Almighty to times and to meanes, who hath euer wrought his greatest miracles for mans preservation, and would (no doubt) haue preferred in this present oppression, had not men preuented him with shouels and spades, and shewed themselves more righteous and mercifull then God.

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Fourthly if ye speake of the word of promise, for there is a word of promise, *(At that time I will come and Sarah shall haue a sonne. Rō. 9.9.* It is true, that man liueth not by bread onely, but by the promises of God likewise; for *the iust shall liue by fayth, faith Abacuk.cha. 2.* True: he shall liue in the next life by his fayth in this, and hee shall liue eternally by building his soule vpon the mercies of God; but yet this is not all, for he shall liue euen in this life by his faith too; for thus liued *Abraham* in hope of a Son, euen when there was no hope; and thus liued *David* in hope of a Kingdom euen when he was like to be killed; and thus liued *Christ* in hope of bread, euen here in the wilderness where there was no bread, and at the last *the Angels came and ministered to him. Mar: 1.13,* For hath God saide it, heauen and earth shall passe, yea the couenant of the day, and the couenant of the night shall cease, before one tittle of the promise of God shall passe, yea but though but for temporall blessings, and namely for bread; for he that *once was young, and then old,* yet neuer saw the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread. *Psal. 37.* Therefore consider & see I beseech you, whence arise conspiracies, riottes, and damnable rebellions; not from want of bread, but through want of faith, yea want of bread doth come by want

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of faith; for to him that beleeueth all things are possible. *Mark. 9.* Therefore if yee will haue bread, conspire not in mutinies, but conspire in mutuall prayers; roote not vp harmelesse hedges, nor rend vp the bowells of the earth; but looke vp to heauen from whence yee shall haue bread; and though yee see no meanes how, yea though yee see reason to despayre, yet yee shall haue bread; for hee hath said it who cannot deceiue, that *hee will not affamish the soule of the righteous. Pro. 10.*

5. Fiftly and lastly as there is *Verbum promittens*, a word of promise to rest vpon, and euery man of ordinary faith can stay himselfe on that, so is there likewise *Verbum denegans*, a word of deniall, whereby God saith sometimes, ye shall haue no bread at all, and (which is the highest point of religion) we must learne to stand fast euen in that too; Thus stood *Dauid* in that great distresse by *Absolon*, *If I shall finde fauour in the eies of the Lord, hee will bring me againe, but if he say thus I haue no delight in thee, behold heere I am, let him doe as seemeth him good. 2.Sam. 15. 25. 26.* Thus affected likewise stood the three children in their fiery tryall, *Our God whom we serue is able, yea and will deliuer vs out off thy handes, but if not, yet bee it knowne vnto thee, that wee will not serue thy Gods &c. Dan. 3, 17. 18.* And *Iob* in the highest stile and strength

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strength of patience, *Though hee kill mee, yet will I trust in him. Iob. 13. 15.* For though God bee alwayes mercifull to giue, yet in his wisdom hee will not giue alwayes, but sometime hee will suffer, yea hee will send men to take it from vs, for the exercise of our patience, the tryall of our fayth and for the consummating the sinnes of the cruell; and no maruell if it be thus now, that the cruell and tyrannos, or as *Eliphaz* sayth, *The mighty, and men of authority haue the earth in possession. Iob. 22. 8.* For thus it hath beene euer, and thus it will be alwayes; and as the the Apostle sayth of the state of the Church *Oportet esse hereses, there must bee heresies. 1. Cor. 11.* so saith Christ of the world, *Va mundo a scandalis, wo to the world because of offences, yet can it not bee auoyded but that offences will come. Mat. 18.* yea it were rather to be maruailed at, if offences should not come, or that the world should bee in better state then it is, the Diuell beeing the God, and gouernor of it; But how then? shall wee therefore shake off patience, and renounce obedience, and take the sword into our owne handes, because G O D will not plant another paradise heere, and make the world as wee would haue it? Now sure it is an easie thing to hope when we haue it at hand, and to bee patient and quiet when

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when we lacke nothing, and euery man hath thus much religion, when God giueth him any thing, to blesse him for it: but to say with *Iob*, *The Lord giueth, and the Lord taketh*, and then *Blessed be the name of the Lord*: This is the perfection of religion, euen patience it selfe: and we must in patience possesse our soules. *Luke. 21.* and if we be not patient in our triall, all other our Religion is nothing. Neither yet do famine and nakednes seperate vs from Christ. *Rom. 8. 35.* But they bring vs neerer vnto Christ, and death neereſt of all, since it is the necessary office of Christian loue for Christs sake to be killed. *vers. 36.* and when wee are killed, yet are we more then conquerors, *vers. 37.* It was truely sayd, *non sunt hoc tempore finita, sed mutata martyria*, martyrdom is not now ended, but onely changed, for in time past men were martyred for profession of faith: but now they may bee martyrs in the preservation of their charitie, yea wee may be Martyrs faith (*S. Gregorie*) *sine ferro & sanguine*, though neither sword touch vs, nor blood come from vs: & how is that? *Si patientia veraciter in animo custodimus*, if faithfully we keepe patience in our mindes: and we may say to the oppressors of our time, as *Cyprian* said to the tyrants and persecutors of his time, *Nobis ignominia non est pati a fratribus &c.* It is no shame to vs to suffer of our
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bretheren what Christ suffered, nor glory to you to play that part which *Iudas* played; yea rather with *Tertullian*, *Crudelitas vestra gloria nostra*, the more cruelly yee afflict vs, the more yee honor vs.

Therefore marke (good people) what honor God had offered to vs, if patiently wee had borne the oppression which is put vpon vs, for by this reckoning depopulators are persecutors, & oppression is persecution, & we by oppression had come to martyrdom, if patiently we had borne it. But heauen & earth are witnesses how farre we are from bearing; yea bearing is come to bearding, and because of a little want, men haue buried their patience as they buried hedges. Yea we are come to banding, *Ephraim* against *Manasses*, & *Manasses* against *Ephraim*; & now at last we are come to flat resisting; The Thistle that is in *Lebanon*, to the Cedar that is in *Lebanon*; Come let vs see one another in the face; And as if brambles had bin annointed Kings, an inferiour Magistrate is now too meane; but the great King must come to compound himselfe; or if he will not come, yet he must send *Alatere*, a messenger from his royall side; or if a *Harold* come, It is an easie matter to send a painted coate; and when a Proclamation came, as good made vnder a hedge; and that which is horrible to speake; A King of three great kingdomes
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must capitulate with a Tinker, whether by Proclamation or by priuy Seale hee shall manifest his will and pleasure : and yet all this is called Reforming; but such *Rephaims* are *Zanzummims*, which as *Plato* told *Diogenes*, he did tread vpon his pride, *Sed maiori cum fastu*, but with a greater pride, so these men reformed wickednes, but with far greater wickednes; & whereas *Rehoboam* threatened his little finger to be bigger then his Fathers loynes, surely these mens little finger would haue bin bigger in the end the *Rehoboams* loines, for tyranny indeed is heauy in the hands of a King, but it is intollerable in times of cōmotion, when euery vile & base cōpanion is a King; & to speak indifferently, I think the sin of these men by many degrees to exceed the other, for Pasture-mē indeed do horrible mischief, but they do it by degrees; first one breaks the law; and then an other is bold to break it by example; now euils of such passage are more easily preuented; but that which growes by mutinies being sodaine & violent, is lesse resistible. Pasture-men indeed destroy a few townes, but mutiners by ciuill cōmotion depopulate whole kingdoms, and that partly by making way to forraine enemies, who vsually increase their dominions by such aduantage, but chiefly by sacking & harrying their owne country with their own
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hands. And let men set what pretence & colour they will, yet this hath bin from time to time the cōmon proceeding of popular mutinies; first to murmur vpon some iust cause, as the *Isralites* did at *Moses* when he brought them where was neither water to drinke, nor bread to eat. *Ex. 15. 24. & Ex. 16. 3.* Afterward when they had both to eate & to drinke, yet (*Nū. 11.*) they murmured, not for wāt, but for wantōnes, *viz.* for fish, & for flesh, for apples, & for cowcumbers &c. Euen as many of our malecōtents do now, who want not to drink, but want to make them dayly drunk. But *Nūb. 14.* their murmuring came to that, that they would change the state, they would put off *Moses*, and haue an other to guide them: But *Nomb. 16.* in *Coraths* conspiracy they came to that, that all the congregation was holy, they were all *Iacobs* sonnes, and they would haue no head at all; right as in the daies of the *Judges*, wherein there was no King in *Israell*, but euery mā did what was right in his owne eyes. *Jud. 17. 6.* Thus we find in Scriptures, thus in stories, yea and thus in our owne *English* stories, and I do not thinke it would haue bin otherwise now, vnlesse it had bin worse; For marke I beseech ye, the course of this creeping conspiracie, first they begā in the night, as checkt with feare & conscience of a crime, but afterward they cāe forth in the broad day, as flesh.

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Micah. 4. 3.

and hartened on by him who is euermore the
maister of rebellion; first vpon discharge they
yeeld to depart, as retaining still some reue-
rence of authority, but afterward they out-
stand the discharge, right as *S. Jude* saith, *De-
spising authority. Iud. 8.* First like *Adams* sonnes
they come forth with shouels and spades, like
simple men to reduce the earth to her ancient
and natiue tilladge, but afterward they come
forth like *Tubal-kains* sonnes, armed with
swords and weapons of yron; & they turned
not as *Micah* saith, *their swords into spades*, but
cleane contrary, spades into swords, or rather
as the Iewes *Nchem. 4.* though in a different
quarrell, they come with weapons in one
hand, and working tooles in another, to pro-
fesse themselues as ready to fight as to work.
First they professe nothing, but to throwe
downe enclosures, though that were indeed
no part of common powre; but afterward
they will reckon for other matters, They will
accompt with Clergie men, and counsell is
giuen to kill vp Gentlemen, and they will le-
uell all states as they leuelled bankes and dit-
ches: and some of them boasted, that now
they hoped to worke no more; the sword &
the gallows making them true Prophets, and
some of them in plaine termes, they thought
that now the law was downe, as in times of
common vproare, both ciuill and diuine law
and

of the late Rebellion.

and all goe downe: and what then shall wee thinke must haue beene the ende of this? Defend it, or at the least excuse it, and make the best of it; and what will bee said? surely this, that the most of these men meant no more but the reformation of one abuse, and so to stay. But is it then in the power of rebelles to limit and stint rebellion as they list? surely no, for as in a naturall body diseased, all the humours runne downe to the part affected, so in a state disturbed all discontentments conspire to do mischief with one, and no man knoweth then either leader or King; I am no politician to discourse it by story, yet thus we finde it in scripture; as 1. Sam. 22. when *David* went out (though not to rebell, as these men did, but *se defendendo*, which yet makes no rule of selfe-defence against a King neither) yet going out to defend himselfe, first his *kindred went out with him*, who thought they receiued disgrace by participation, then they *that were in trouble*, happily for some misdemeanure, & then they *that were in debt*, thinking to pay their debts with their swords; but how could *David* rule all these, though his cause were iust, and he the leader of them? Surely no; for 1. Sam. 30. vpon a priuate grieffe they had like to haue killed him too. And therefore though it bee an easie matter to begin a commotion, yet is it no easie matter to stay it; or say that

A Sermon vpon occasion

2. Kin. 5.

in this conspiracie some one quarrell had
ceased, yet the rest had run riot still; and then
they which arose only to fill vp ditches, must
perhaps haue beene compelled to entrench
themselues a new from other conspirators:
Nay let me say more as *Eliseus* to his man, *Is
this a time to take bribes?* to speake simply,
there was no time at all for such a worke, but
at that time it was worst of all, when some
hope was offred of bringing home an idola-
tour to the Church; so let me aske of these
good people; Was this a time of all times to
disturbe the peace of the land; now that King
and state were so earnest in hand to vnite two
kingdoms into one, now to attempt the ren-
ding of one kingdome into two? into two?
nay into ten; into ten thousand; and to bring
it, not as *Ierem. 2. 28. So many Citties so many
Gods*, but so many men so many Kings, and to
make confusion of all; but as the saying is,
Melius est vt pereat unus, quam unitas; better
one or a few to be punisht, the a whole king-
dome hazarded; and if in this proceeding any
haue miscaried, they haue perished right, as
Saint Iude saith, *even in the gaine-saying of Core.*
Iud. 11. and they haue left this behind them,
that they were not killed, but as they killed
themselues, the sword after a strange maner
asking peace of naked men, and mercy which
should be sought, yet seeking for admission
with

of the late Rebellion.

with Cap in hand, and as it were creeping on her knees; and so for the rest we leaue them to God. And if any yet remaine whom the poison of this conspiracie hath infected; I will not vse many reasons to diswade him; onely let him take this for one, that if the bleeding bodies of these slaughtered men did acknowledge, euen as they lay bleeding and groning their last vpon the ground, that they neuer felt they had offended God in the present act till then, but then they did; and some vpon the gallowes asked pardon of God, and confessed themselues penitent for that they had done: what a fearefull thing were it for vs to liue in that sinne, which these poore wretches detested when they dyed? therefore let vs not tie knots which we must vntie againe, nor commit that euill wherof we must againe repent vs, but rather bee thankfull for those good things we haue, & waite with patience for those which yet wee haue not, and say in all things with Christ, *Thy will be done*, that so at the last his kingdome may come, euen the kingdome of righteousnesse and grace in this life, and that of glory in the next.

Amen.

Pax in Christo.